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856 constant help from the mother, the nurse, and other members of the family, the child is able to sit up without support.

[854] The practice of straddling the child on the hip begins during the sixth month. From this period there is a rapid development of its manipulative skill. Between the seventh and eighth months the child begins to crawl about on the floor, and will crawl away from wherever it is seated. As the child's manipulative skill develops he begins to pick up things that attract the eyes, often knocking them down repeatedly. The mouth is also used in testing the properties of articles. There is thus some difficulty in preventing the child from putting dirty things into its mouth.

If a child is not watched it may eat a large quantity of soil, a practice facilitated by its surroundings, the floor and ground in front of the house being bare earth. It is [164] therefore not surprising that children of this age frequently suffer from serious stomach trouble. Even before [854] the children begin to sit up, the nurses, who themselves [857] are only between six and eleven years old, do not effectively prevent them from touching dirty things, because they are sometimes tempted to run away to play, leaving the babies to look after themselves.

856 A child is persuaded to walk by holding its hands and ● 868 helping it along. In this process the older person repeats the words 'Taa, taa,' in a monotone. The practice is continued daily until the child is able to walk; but as soon as it can support itself on its feet the mother or nurse may move away a short distance and try to induce it to come nearer. Every member of the family takes a great interest in all this and loses no opportunity to help the child.

According to my observations, cooing and the earliest symptoms of speech begin to come into evidence in the

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eighth month. When Ageng'o was eight months old he repeated the same performance every time he saw me come in. First he clapped his hands, uttering a sound like 'Aaa, Aaa'; then he clasped them together, pressing them repeatedly against his lips while he made the sound 'Aa baa ba'. This pleased his mother, who was so excited that she spoke to the child in adult language. In addition, Ageng'o could seize two maize cobs, bring them together in front of him, lie on his stomach and push them round in a circle.

There was also a conspicuous development of pleasure when he began playing. There can be no doubt that he derived great enjoyment from pushing the maize cobs along, because that kind of play was usually accompanied by a great deal of noise not intended to attract the attention of anyone. Having scooped the ground with a stick, he would throw it away and, with his fingers spread out, sweep the ground before him. All this indicated the multiple experiences of a developing mind which aimed at satisfying its own curiosity by exploring into the nature of things. A child of this age has no fear of fire until it is scorched by a glowing ember.

At the time when the child begins to say '*Baa, baa, baa*', the mother trains it to imitate sounds of names like '*ba-ba* (*babu, mama, mamu*)'. But the use of adult language in talking to the baby begins as early as the first month. Thus when taking up a baby of one or two months, a mother may say, '*Bi mama*' (come my mother) or '*Bi wuora*' (come my father), according to whom the child was named after. This of course means nothing to the child at such an early stage. Following '*ba-ba*' and '*ma-ma*', it is taught the names of things and people in the family. Gradually a child gets to know these, as well as the words for a few things including food. Next it is taught how to ask for things. On the whole, children do

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856 not begin to speak until after two years, when they are
868 barely able to construct short simple sentences.

## Discipline

861 Formal training in discipline begins as early as the
855 seventh month, at the time when the child may put some dirty object to its lips. Thus a mother, finding her child with soil in its mouth, may slap it gently as she removes the soil, or the hands of the child may be tapped with anything convenient. A child crawling towards the fire would be immediately pulled away, and sometimes it might be frightened with the glowing end of a burning twig in order to impress the danger upon its mind.

856 It is never certain when a child is first going to walk,
164 for the conditions under which children are brought up are such that it is impossible for them to escape being seriously ill at one time or another. Hence the period is largely determined by the health of the child. The average time ranges from eleven to fourteen months. A child who develops very rapidly through the early stages causes its parents much worry, for it is believed that a fast-growing child never survives.

855 *Effects of the child's emotions.* The mother's attitude to-
[844] wards the emotions of the child is based on the deep impression left on her mind by the strain of the birth. Thus, I have come across women who told me quite convincingly that whenever they heard one of their children cry out vigorously they again felt the pain they had experienced during its birth. A mother tolerates the emotional outbursts of her child not only because she loves it but even more because she struggled to bear it. This seems to be the real cause of the so-called humanity of women towards children in contrast with the indifference sometimes shown by men. Instead of setting the

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# II

# CHILDHOOD

## Between Two and Six Years

856 *Physical development.* Between the ages of two and five the means of locomotion mature. Healthy children are able during this period to walk and run about, and, even as early as this, young boys and girls begin to show subtle differences in their motor behaviour. Female children are less vigorous in their muscular movements, while male children tend to exaggerate them. But on the whole both sexes make good use of this newly acquired power. There is an increased desire to move about, intensified by a wish to meet young acquaintances at play.

[855 857] The work of the nurse then changes. Instead of looking after the child, she does simple housework, such as fetching water from the stream or well, and collecting firewood. In place of being its foster-mother she becomes the child's major playmate.

From this time onwards children grow rather thin. It is assumed that this slenderness of body is a sign that they are growing up. It is also believed that at this time male children are stronger than their female contemporaries.

856 868 *Mental development.* The mental development of a child of this age is marked by a predominance of fantasy play, and a rapid mastery of spoken language. The imaginative play occupies longer periods than the other activities. The child learns language from its playmates as well as from the conscious efforts of members of its family. The effectiveness of the speech taught by its parents becomes more pronounced while the orders given begin to be better understood.

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There is no rigid separation of the sexes in these play groups, although there is a clear distinction between the tendencies of the two sexes in any single gathering. The activities are largely imitative of real activities in adult life, falling into definite types, which develop progressively. 857

Female children imitate the activities of the women. They also imitate funeral ceremonies in which both men and women take part. A child isolated from its own sex may be found doing things customary to the other sex, with whom it spends its play hours. Male children build houses; dig gardens; mould bulls, motor cars, trains and carts. Female children concentrate on those activities leading to the preparation of food and care of babies. 857 868

Though there is no strictly-defined list into which all these activities may be fitted, it remains for future investigators in the field of psychology to discover the degree of invention and diffusion of children's play activities. At the moment we must be content with mentioning their main features.

In every instance the activities pass from simpler to more complex forms as the mind behind them develops. Certain of these games in their more advanced forms are carried out in hidden places because the children begin to take actual things, like food, for playthings, some being taken during the mother's absence. Hence, we find that the older children are afraid of playing where they would be observed by their parents.

On being introduced to the play activities, a girl-child might begin with the grinding of the soil, which is done over a small area of cleared ground. Later, the grinding is done on a flattish stone, a leaf being placed below to receive the supposed flour. This is an imitation of the mothers or sisters when they are grinding corn,

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and is an imitation taking place even among children who do not see grinding stones in use. It is therefore like a vanishing feature of a culture surviving in the form of children's play activity. Leaves of plants or trees are put into a broken piece of pot (*balatago*) with a little water to represent either meat, fish or green vegetables in the process of being cooked. Small dried branches may be used to represent the fire, but actual fire is not used at this early stage. These are mainly make-believe activities in which the children persuade themselves that they are doing real things.

In the rather advanced activities the younger act as servants to the older children, who send them here and there to fetch the necessary articles and also instruct them to keep the supposed fire burning. Between the ages of six and nine, female children, as I have already mentioned, use real things in imitating the preparation of food. Thus, during the mother's absence nurses and other older children may take corn or flour, water and salt, to be made into porridge (kuon). They may also tear off a portion of fish or meat to be cooked in the play huts, which are generally constructed in some hidden place behind the village. Nevertheless, the vessels used are still merely broken pieces of pottery.

The play shelters themselves are small enclosures made of leafy branches. Having used the huts for several days the children abandon them or set fire to them, and there are occasions when actual houses have been set on fire during the absence of the grown-ups. If this happens, nothing is done to the children, for children are everywhere considered to be 'foolish' and capable of any mischief.

Sometimes millet is boiled in old small tins or broken pots. On the whole, the method of cooking is extremely crude, nevertheless, it is significant in that it shows the

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independent progress of the youngsters towards the activities of adult life. At times they are so proud of their successes that they even show their prepared food to their parents; and parents are generally pleased to taste what their children have prepared, even though the articles may not be well cooked.

Female children may also imitate activities involving the care of babies. They make a mould of a baby and a nurse-child, using leaves and some rags for bedding and clothes. The mould-child may be given to one of the younger children, who carries it and so learns how to look after babies. Sometimes maize cobs are used instead of the moulded clay. Children may also imitate the death of a child, and all the children in the group join in the mourning.

Female children are very fond of singing the songs they hear older children sing at festivals. At this age they have a greater inclination to sing than male children, and their songs sometimes help them to quiet crying babies.

As a pastime the nurses engage in 'Kora', a game played with small smooth bits of stone or rounded pieces of broken pottery. This game has a series of rules which every player must observe. Younger children imitate the older ones but are not very successful because their minds and muscles are as yet immature, and they lack the steadiness and precision required for the game. It is interesting to watch, and girls as old as even twelve years take an active part in it. The stones are collected in the palm, then thrown into the air while the back of the hand is turned to receive them, the object of the game being that more than one of the stones thrown into the air must come to rest on the back of the hand. Then by a series of trials one stone is thrown into the air while another on the ground is picked up in time to receive also the stone which has been thrown up. This is

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857 repeated until all the fallen stones have been collected,
524 when it is considered that the game is won. The rules are, however, more complicated than this brief sketch has made them appear.

## Discipline

857 During the period between two and six years, the
865 children have a tendency to play with their friends until late in the evening. The playground may be quite removed from the house; hence parents often have to take strict action to keep their children within the bounds of their homesteads. When they are disobedient, the
[864] normal disciplinary action is whipping. At this age female children are instructed to sit with their knees together. If one of them sits carelessly she is either warned or whipped. Among her duties are the fetching of firewood or dishes for food, and if she refuses to fetch firewood for anyone in the village she may be whipped.
[868] She cannot, of course, be asked to bring fire from a neighbouring home, or to light it, because she lacks the experience necessary for this task. Crying without a cause is sternly repressed and if it is persisted in it earns the child a whipping.

855 *Training in decency.* Luo children from two years up-
863 wards are greatly neglected so far as clothes, washing, and training in decency are concerned. Hence the general appearance of these children is that of dirty little creatures whose clothes are stained with the soil in which they play. Some mothers admit that they fail to wash their children for as long as three days. Other mothers do not worry at all, assuming that their children will go with the older children to wash themselves.

863 Children old enough to walk about are strictly instructed not to empty their bowels inside the home but in front of the house beyond the enclosure. Once shown

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# III

# THE SCHOOL AGE

## From Six to Eleven Years

857 The school-going age for the Luo girl is characterised
868 by its transitional nature. It is chiefly a time of useful activity, for it is this age to which society has assigned the duty of nursing, and young girls begin and end their nursing service during this period. The mother now transforms the free day of play activity into real work and mobilizes the potential abilities of the young girl for her traditional education. The benefit reaped by the family is a secondary result, because the training given at this stage is part of a long process of education for married life. So far as the girl is concerned, the interest shown in nursing is more intense in the earlier phase of this age—at about eight to nine years.

With the increasing maturity of her mental life, the young girl begins to take an interest in the household duties of older girls, and thus associates nursing with girls of a younger age. We therefore find among the older girls of the age-group a section which despises nursing. The general domestic work of the age includes collecting firewood, fetching water in small containers, and keeping the fire burning while food cooks during the absence of the mother. Firewood is collected from [313] round the village or sometimes further afield in company with older girls. In the groups the older girls may direct the younger ones where to find good firewood, but most of the collecting is done individually by the girl herself. The quantity carried increases as the child [312] grows older, and the container in which water is carried also varies similarly. When her mother is away, the

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young girl is responsible for seeing that the food already prepared is given to the male and younger female members of the family. Males are by tradition not allowed to dip their hands in the food pot, this being exclusively a woman's duty.

Apart from these strictly utilitarian activities, young girls slip off at intervals to play with their companions. It is during this period that male children part company with females and form their own separate play groups. Those who continue to play with girls to a later age are reproached. Although girls in the earlier phase of this age group do a considerable amount of domestic work, it is mainly of an introductory nature. Thus the mother cannot go away for a night and leave the young girl in charge. The errands given to her are simple and in accordance with her capabilities.

*A later phase—ten to eleven.* Again this is not an age of independence in domestic work. The young girl's duties are still limited by her inexperience. But now the mother concentrates on making the girl do more thoroughly the few duties she has learned. Two of the more important of these activities are fetching firewood and water. The mother begins to expect her daughter to make several journeys daily to the stream and at least one trip to fetch firewood without being told. If the girl forgets, she may be reproached or beaten. At this time a start is also made in the preparation of adult food.

### Discipline

The disciplinary training of girls of school-going age is theoretically a paternal as well as a maternal responsibility; but in practice the mother plays a much more important role than the father. It is against her mother that future blame for inefficiency in normal domestic duties will be directed. The young daughter is strictly

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868 disciplined to prevent her from escaping the much
593 cherished traditional education. Discipline is weakened, however, when the nurse is not the daughter of the woman engaging her. In these circumstances the mistress, fearing to lose the nurse's services, tolerates behaviour she would not countenance in her own daughter.

868 In the process of training, the young girl is expected to be competent in household duties as early as possible. Mothers have frequently told me that girls who begin practising household duties later than the school-going age, are generally very inefficient in domestic work; thus in their early discipline mothers protect themselves against future blame for poor training.

Apart from the primary motive of training the young girl as a prospective wife, the mother is influenced by her desire to make her daughter of practical use to her-
[594] self as soon as possible. The help from girls of school-going age greatly relieves the constant pressure of a woman's household tasks. This training also makes a girl observe feeding manners more strictly.

861 In Luo families, a young girl is at the mercy of every-
593 one except her younger brothers and sisters. When disobedient she is whipped with a stick. She thus becomes equally tyrannical towards her juniors when they disobey her. One girl told me that if her sister disobeyed her she seized the child, knocked her down, and beat her. This reflects the general attitude.

857 *Nursing.* Although some girls of this later age act as nurses, nursing proper is more characteristic of the earlier stage. When she nears the age of eleven, the young girl rebels against nursing and runs back to her home or, if nursing her own brothers and sisters, escapes to relatives out of reach of her immediate family. This
[856] break takes place as soon as the breasts begin to develop and is perhaps a revolutionary step caused by the grow-

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855 than themselves. As the girls grow older, feeding at odd
264 times is restricted. The girls eat with the mother while their brothers eat with the father. The mother of the family takes particular care that the brothers get some food and even though she may go without herself, she sees that the children eat.

868 *Female education at school-going age.* The traditional education as given by the parents is strictly utilitarian. Its main aim is to prepare the girl for her future as a wife in a family and as a mother of children.

868 The girls accompany their mothers or older associates
312 to fetch water, the younger ones being given a very little water in a small pot, usually used for milking. Larger pots are given to the girl as she grows older and stronger, the girls of six and seven being eager to imitate their older playmates. A few of the male children like to go to fetch water with similar containers, but their mothers do not encourage them. The mother of a young girl watches her carefully to see if she is interested in imitating these activities before giving any encouragement.

868 When the girl, at the age of eight or nine, expresses a
[241] desire to dig, the mother takes her to a garden early in the morning to let her do so, and releases her at about
[252] eight o'clock before the sun becomes too hot. At this time too, if a grinding stone is available, the mother teaches her child to grind corn, this being a continuation of the interest in grinding soil shown at play. The older girls of the group are instructed in giving gruel to the young children they nurse.

868 In the preparation of food, the girls first learn how to
252 prepare gruel for the babies. But proper cooking comes
861 very gradually and they learn it under the constant observation of the adult members of the family. The food cooked is first tasted by the parents only, when criticisms are openly made and encouragement of future

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success given. In this atmosphere the girl slowly learns to master the art. It is not until she is thoroughly competent that she is allowed to prepare food for visitors.

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*Relationship with older children in the family.* At first the young girl grows up in fear of and with a submissive attitude towards her older brothers and sisters, the attitude of fear decreasing towards her sisters as she begins more and more to share the same activities. Thus by the time the girls reach adolescence there is a growing feeling of companionship which brings them closer to each other in their everyday tasks, and any dominating attitude becomes consequently weaker. But among boys this attitude persists into adulthood, weakening only with the independence which adult life brings with it. Bullying is less noticeable among girls; boys of the school-going age become very tyrannical with their younger brothers and sisters, and their behaviour leads to frequent squabbles.

[857]

The attitude of a girl towards her older brothers and sisters is influenced by the treatment she receives from them. She can be sent on an errand by any older member of the family. Thus an elder child often passes orders on to her juniors since the errands in a large family are many and frequent. In this way the young girl learns to avoid and perhaps to dislike certain members of the family. As she grows older, she in turn exercises disciplinary action over those beneath her.

*Parental attitude.* The father plays a rather detached role, but in actual fact he retains a deep-seated interest in his growing daughter as a future promise of wealth. Though fundamentally mothers are equally interested in sons and daughters, they have at this time a more direct influence over their girls. A mother is interested in her daughter partly through her maternal responsibility and partly because of the girl's immediate value to the family, the father being more definitely concerned

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593 855 with the male children. Maternal control over the young girl is very great and remains about the same when she reaches adolescence, though at this time the father's control becomes increasingly essential in keeping the growing personalities of the family in order.

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YOUNG GIRLS GOING TO FETCH WATER

857 868 THE BEGINNING OF SPECIALISED ACTIVITIES

The school-going age marks the period when male and female children part company. Young girls become increasingly occupied with domestic work, such as fetching water and firewood, tending babies and watching the fire, while male children of the same age continue to play in groups for a much longer period. Apart from herding, which is now less general than in the past, boys of school-

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going age have little to do beyond playing in gangs. It is thus very common to come across gangs of male children engaged in social games. Because girls are occupied with their household duties it is much easier for boys of this age to go to school, causing less family disruption.

With her time for play diminishing, the young girl struggles between work given by her mother and the powerful attraction of the play groups from which her domestic duties tend to exclude her. Therefore if she is to discharge her traditional task of education, a mother must labour to keep her daughter from associating with these groups.

The girls' early training enables them to take on family duties at which boys of the same age would fail, for in their training for responsibility the girls of this age are far in advance of their male counterpart. But the limited time in which the training must be completed has the effect of overloading a girl's school-going period.

*The play groups.* The activities carried on by girls from six to eleven years old are a continuation of those of the previous age group from two to five, but the play becomes more mature and better organized. The older girl assumes the role of organizer of the play activities of her younger sisters. Thus the activities become more complex and besides those involving the imitation of grinding corn, other articles of food appear such as meat, fish, and leaves to represent vegetables.

During my observations I noticed a tendency amongst young girls at play to give female names to their dolls, which probably indicates that they identify the dolls with themselves. Thus, when I suggested male names for the dolls, they were rejected. In assuming the role of the doll's mother it again seems clear that the girl identifies herself with her own mother.

Girls may also be found playing the part of a mother

[1 i.e. From six to eleven years old.—ANALYST]